The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
REV. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Ph.D.,
AND THE REV. R. M. FRENCH, M.A.

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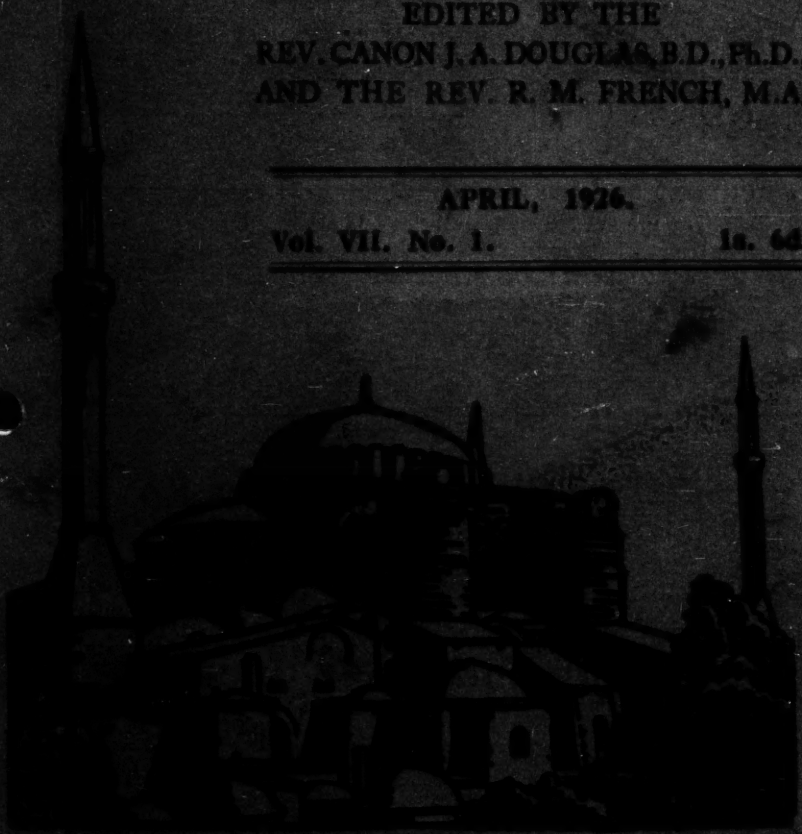

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APRIL, 1926.] [VOL. VII. NO. 1.

The Christian East

SOME NOTES ON THE USE OF IKONS AND THEIR MAKING.

By the REV. R. M. FRENCH.

SOME while ago there appeared in *The Christian East* an article from the competent pen of Mr. Athelstan Riley upon the doctrinal significance of the Holy Ikons. It is a subject full of interest, and very important for our understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy. It will probably always be difficult for an Englishman to appreciate the position that the ikons occupy in Orthodox religious life. But the following pages do not deal with the doctrine of the ikons. They are written in the belief that other aspects of the matter are of great interest, and they are concerned rather with the sacred pictures themselves and their production.

Ikons are often called "images," but they are not images in the ordinary English sense of the word. It is well known that the use of images, *i.e.*, completely detached carved figures in wood, stone or metal, to represent Christ and the Saints, is forbidden in the Eastern Church. Figures carved in relief are occasionally met with, but normally the place of images is taken by the perfectly flat ikon. Small ikons are very frequently made of metal, consisting of a single panel or of two panels, or three hinged in the form of a triptych. Occasionally even a larger number of panels will be found. The design is engraved on the metal, or the background cut away to leave the figures in relief and then perhaps filled in with coloured enamel. There is a great variety of such ikons in Russia. Some of them are beautiful, and some are old. But in modern times large numbers of inferior ones have been produced *en gros*, partly, no doubt, with a view to the needs of the "collector." The name ikon may also be applied to the sacred pictures in fresco or mosaic which so abundantly adorn the walls and domes of Orthodox churches. But ordinarily it means a picture of some sacred person or subject painted upon a panel of wood, with or without a partial covering of metal. It was towards the end of the seventeenth century that the lamentable custom was adopted

times of public danger and trouble, ikons, especially famous and peculiarly venerated ikons, may be carried in processions of intercessory prayer through the streets; and the clergy are often requested to bring them to the bedside of the sick, and in their presence prayers for recovery are offered or the sick person is anointed.

Now it must be frankly admitted that a good deal of all this is a little bewildering to the average English churchman, who is probably inclined to regard the cult of the ikons as more or less superstitious.

There may be truth in his point of view; there probably is. There is an element of superstition in most people's religion everywhere. And it may be that there is more, or at any rate cruder, superstition in Russian popular religion than in English. Moreover, no one will deny that superstition, when found, certainly is an evil and demoralizing thing. But it is also an exceedingly elusive thing for a man to seize hold upon and cry, "Here it is." And therefore, although you may know yourself to be in some respects superstitious, it is an exceedingly rash thing to call anyone else so. You must first catch your hare—you must define superstition and, I suppose, define it in relation to the mental and spiritual equipment of the person you accuse. Many people would condemn belief in the healing properties of a robe worn by Christ as superstition, yet we all know of an instance in the Gospels when Our Lord called it faith, and when the event proved its justification. And if one compares the religion of the Russian peasant with that of the typical villager in England, one may reasonably ask—Is it better to believe too much or too little?

However that may be, we may note here that from a practical point of view the use of ikons is in many ways of great value. This value they share with the frescoes and mosaics which adorn the interiors of Orthodox churches. The effect of this decoration, taken as a whole, is usually, and in intention presumably is always, to beautify the House of God. And this in itself is much. Beauty, so far as man can express it, is an offering that he does well to make to Him "Who hath made all things beautiful in His time." But apart from this abstract question, which considerations of space forbid us to discuss, the practical value of the ikons and frescoes is twofold. On the one hand, they provide instruction. In lands where the worshippers are to a large extent unable to read and possess few opportunities of acquiring books if they were, and where sermons are comparatively rare and such things as confirmation classes and bible classes unknown, the frescoed walls and painted ikonostases of the parish church make a continuously open book, which must do much to keep alive the details of that Christian Faith which the worshippers were taught in early years. And often enough the whole Faith is pictured there, according to an ordered scheme,

which, if often departed from or left incomplete, is still the norm. If the whole scheme is not portrayed, yet within any church there is always much instruction in line and colour, which, silent as it is, sinks down through the eye into the mind and heart of the peasant worshipper.

On the other hand, the ikons and frescoes express and foster that sense of the unseen world which is so characteristic of Orthodoxy. It echoes the belief of the worshipper's heart in the Communion of Saints. For the saints he sees depicted are real persons to him, men and women who have lived and loved and suffered as he, while they travelled along the path he is himself in this world to follow. He conceives the saints as witnesses and companions, as people who are friends of his, with an intensity and a reality which we in England find it hard to compare with our own often vague and feeble abstract assertion, " I believe in the Communion of Saints." When the Orthodox worshipper enters his church, he does so (assuming his devotion is sincere) consciously as a member of one great family of the children of God. Part he sees around him in flesh and blood, part he sees depicted in fresco and ikon, but all are to him vividly present in the Presence of God.

If any considerable number of ikons is examined, all observers will be struck by the extraordinary similarity of colour and design in the treatment of any particular subject in ikon-painting. It will be remembered how strongly this fact impressed Didron on his visit to Mt. Athos nearly a hundred years ago. He tells us that for a long while the reason for this singular uniformity puzzled him, until in the course of conversation with a painter who was actually executing some frescoes, he came upon the secret.

It appeared that all these painters worked according to detailed instructions, and moreover, that these instructions were written down in a book, copies of which were to be found in every " studio " of sacred painting and in the possession of the master painters. It was from this book, handed down from generation to generation, upon which the master painters made marginal notes of their own, that the young artists were taught their craft. Two of the youngest pupils in the studio would read aloud from it alternately, while the others, seated around, painted according to its instructions! It was originally written by a painter-monk, named Dionysius, to set forth his own experience, his hardly acquired skill, at Salonica, and that of the revered master Panselinos—a famous painter of the twelfth century. He writes with the purpose of guiding and assisting those who shall come after him, and gives much sage advice not only upon the technique of his craft but also upon the spirit in which the ikon painter should work.

A curious old book, indeed, which it will be of interest to glance inside. For such manuals were the guides to ikon-painting every-

where, and were preserved and used till modern times in the monasteries—which are the workshops for the production of ikons.

Dionysius must have been an attractive character, one feels as one peruses his book, skilful in his craft, shrewd and intelligent in adapting means to ends, producing his pictures with leisurely and loving care. Again and again he bids his pupils be patient and persevering—let there be no haste over the preparations or all will be lost. The pupil must practise year after year, and in the end he will learn to draw. At the outset he warns his readers of the importance of working in the right spirit, for it is no common pictures that they are called upon to make. The painting of ikons —the frescoing of a church, is a religious exercise as well as an artistic one, and the painter-monk must never let this be absent from his thoughts as he works. "All those who work with care and with piety receive grace and blessing from heaven," he writes, "but all those who labour only for the love of money and abandon care and piety—let them reflect well before their death, let them call to mind with fear the punishment of him they are imitating —of Judas, that is."

So prayer is a recognized part of the ikon painter's training, and among his preliminary exercises we find the following: "Let him address to Jesus Christ the following prayer before an ikon of the Mother of God, while a priest blesses him: 'King of Heaven,' etc.; then the hymn of the Virgin (*i.e.*, the Magnificat), an invitatory and the versicles of the Transfiguration. Then, having made on his head the sign of the Cross, let him say aloud, 'Let us pray unto the Lord: Lord Jesus Christ, our God, Thou Who art endowed with a nature divine and incomprehensible, Who didst take a body from the womb of the Virgin Mary for the salvation of man, Thou Who didst deign to trace the sacred form of thy immortal Face and to stamp it upon a holy napkin, which healed the sickness of the satrap Abgar, and to enlighten his soul for the knowledge of the true God, Thou Who didst illuminate with Thy Holy Spirit Thy divine apostle and evangelist St. Luke, that he might portray the beauty of Thy most pure Mother, of Her Who carried Thee as a little child in her arms, and said, "The grace of Him Who is born of me is spread abroad among men," Thou, the divine Master of all that exists, enlighten and direct my soul and the heart and spirit of thy servant (N.), guide his hands that they may worthily and perfectly portray Thine image, that of Thy most holy Mother and that of all the saints, for the glory, the joy and the ornament of Thy most holy Church. Forgive the sins of all those who shall venerate these images and who, kneeling devoutly before them, shall render honour to the pattern which is in the heavens. Save them from every evil influence and teach them by Thy good counsels. These things I implore through the mediation

of Thy most holy Mother, of the glorious apostle and evangelist saint Luke and of all the saints. Amen.' "

The carrying back of the painter's thought to the Mount of Transfiguration is very characteristic of the Orthodox East and will be appreciated by everyone for the beauty and depth of its appropriateness. Dionysius evidently contemplates that the painter will depend upon his own resources for everything ; clearly there is to be no going out to purchase materials. The novice is told how to obtain his glue from skins, and the directions for painting a wall or fixed screen which cannot be removed and laid upon the ground begin with the instruction : " First of all make a ladder " ! Brushes are made from asses' mane, goat's hair fixed in an eagle's feather, or hog's hair with a wooden handle for rougher work. He meant his disciples to learn their art thoroughly and from the very beginning. It is worth noting that even in Didron's day the monks of Athos made their own brushes for painting. No wonder Dionysius is not above counselling such an economy as squeezing out the brushes afterwards that the surplus paint on them may not be wasted. So the novice is taught how to prepare a suitable surface for his ikon, by covering the wooden panel with a mixture of powdered plaster or alabaster and glue, laid on with care in several coats and scrupulously polished with bone. For many of the processes alternative directions are given. Further on we read how tracings are to be made and used, which lines are to be drawn in first, how to mix the colours and so on. The colours are mixed with the white of egg and laid on while the plaster is wet, so that they sink into it. Minute directions and recipes are given for the making of colours and their use and value under varying circumstances of light, heat, humidity of atmosphere. Instructions are to be found for gilding with gold-leaf and for the reduction of gold to a powder for other uses. The composition and merits of varnishes are discussed ; and the pupil is taught how to restore old paintings, or simply how to clean them. The last provides the occasion for a delightful reminiscence : " Take care to try your hand first upon a small picture. If you are successful, then undertake a bigger one ; if not, give up the task, so as not to get into trouble with the master. What I write here must not be looked upon as a mere tale—for I myself, after having experimented, succeeded very well, but another who wished to imitate me without making a trial, lost a picture and had nothing left in his hands but a bare board."

Nor can Dionysius be accused of narrowness of outlook and sympathy. For all he has to say, he can spare some paragraphs to describe methods in use among the Russians, or " How the Cretans work."

An interesting book might be written on changing fashions in physical beauty in different ages. The ideal human form seems to

have appeared very different to different generations of men. It is interesting to compare Dionysius' directions for the proportions of the human figure with those of modern authorities. Dionysius gives the theory as it were, of those elongated figures so familiar to us from Byzantine painting. The whole figure, he states, should be nine "heads." He gives most of the measurements in terms of the head and nose. "The two eyes are equal and the interval which separates them is equal to one eye. When the head is in profile, put the distance of two eyes between the eye and the ear; if the head is full face it needs but the space of one." A curious direction is the following: "When the man is nude, four noses will give half his breadth."

All these, however, are technical details. The bulk of Dionysius' work is occupied with instruction upon the representation of sacred persons and things. Here we cannot hope to follow him in any detail, interesting as it all is, for his directions are very full indeed. Not that he goes into very great detail in each individual case, but the number of subjects dealt with is immense.

He describes how all the nine orders of angels should be painted, Adam and Eve and an enormous number of characters and scenes from the Old Testament and some from the Apocrypha. The beard is an astonishingly prominent feature in these instructions upon portraiture, indeed it seems to be the principal point which distinguishes one patriarch from another. Adam, indeed, is to have long hair, Abel and Solomon are both to be shown as young and beardless, and for some reason, Malaleel, Eber, Methuselah and Peleg are all bald. Otherwise the list is almost uniform. "An old man with a large beard" or it may be "a full beard," or small, or long, or rounded, pointed, grey, brown, curly, bristly, forked. Nahor is to have a three-pointed beard, and Salah one with no less than five points, Abraham's is to descend to his waist. Among the women of the Old Testament Eve should have white hair, and Deborah should be represented with a crown. There is no other distinction given except that some are to be depicted young and some old.

When we come to the prophets and others, beards become important again. But, in addition, each has his own appropriate inscription on a scroll near him. This is generally some quotation from the saint's own words or writing. Solomon, for instance, is to be accompanied by the inscription, "Wisdom hath built her an house, etc." The system of inscriptions is rather elaborate, for each character depicted will have a different scroll of words according to the scene in which he is represented.

It is curiously characteristic of Christian tradition in the East, with its world-absorbing tendency and its claim to levy contribution upon all human thought for the glory of Christ, that instructions are found for painting the Greek philosophers and sages "who have

spoken of the Incarnation," such as Apollonius and Thucydides, and Aristotle. Oddly enough, this list concludes with " Thoulis, king of Egypt, Balaam, and the Wise Sybil."

The New Testament is treated in even greater detail.

Similar scanty directions are given for a large number of persons, and every incident in the life of Our Lord is dealt with.

There is a long list of parables, which contains a good deal of other matter in the way of striking sayings of Christ, as well as the parables strictly so-called. These are, for the most part, to be represented by the painter quite literally. But this is not always the case. What is called the parable of the Narrow Way, for example, is to be depicted by a scene in which saints are seen at prayer tempted by demons, and martyrs being subjected to various tortures, while, above, Christ blesses them from the clouds and holds an open book on which is inscribed " Straight is the gate and narrow the way," etc.

The directions for painting scenes from the life of Our Lord are a mine of reference for legend and tradition, some of it derived from the Apocryphal Gospels, other elements from sources long ago forgotten.

This is for the Flight into Egypt :—" Mountains. The Virgin seated on an ass with the Child, looks at Joseph behind her carrying a staff and his cloak on his shoulder. A young man leads the ass. He carries a rush basket and looks at the Virgin, who is behind him. In front a town and the idols falling from the walls." The falling idols are familiar, but, as Didron pertinently asks, Who is the young man leading the ass? In most pictures St. Joseph himself leads the animal, though occasionally in the West an angel is shown doing so. But the young man of Dionysius appears to be the survival of some lost legend.

In the Massacre of the Innocents the directions end by saying that Elizabeth flees, carrying St. John the Baptist as a little child. She is pursued by a soldier with drawn sword. A rock, huge as a mountain, splits asunder to let her pass through. This is from an Apocryphal Gospel. And the following magnificent scene of the Descent into Hell is from the Gospel of Nicodemus. " Hades like a dark cave under the mountains. Glittering angels are chaining Beelzebub, the Prince of Darkness. They strike other demons and pursue others with their lances. Several men, nude and in chains, look upwards. A large number of broken locks. The gates of Hell are overthrown and Christ treads them beneath His feet. The Saviour takes Adam in his right hand and Eve in his left. To the left of the Saviour, the Forerunner (St. John the Baptist) indicating Him with a gesture. David is near Him, as are also other righteous kings with crowns and haloes. To the left the prophets Jonah, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The righteous Abel and many other persons

with haloes. All around, a brilliant light and a great number of angels." (*See* the Gospel of Nicodemus, ch. xvi. *f.*)

But we must not linger, although Dionysius has a great deal to say yet. He proceeds to set forth the right way to paint the Liturgy and the Communion of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, and the Second Coming of Christ. Then follows a large number of scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin, and of miracles of the saints.

In the pictures of the seven general councils, the heretics are all to be indicated plainly by a little demon seated upon their shoulders. The Seventh Council is of peculiar interest to us at the moment, for it was the one which condemned the ikonoclasts and established the lawfulness of the use of "images" in worship. "Houses. The Holy Ghost above. The Emperor Constantine, a little child and his mother Irene seated on thrones. Constantine holds the ikon of Christ, Irene that of the Virgin. At their side are St. Tarasius of Constantinople, the two bishops, Peter, the representative of the Pope, and others, all seated and holding ikons. A bishop writes in the midst: "He that revereth not these holy images and the venerated Cross, let him be anathema.'"

The remainder of Dionysius' fascinating book and his scheme for the complete decoration of a church interior (in which each subject is assigned to its proper part of the structure) must be looked at another time.

Its perusal certainly reveals the explanation of the striking uniformity noticeable in ikon-painting. But this uniformity must not be exaggerated. Evidently even Dionysius leaves a good deal of scope for variety in the treatment of details by the individual artist. And it is possible to overemphasize the influence of such books as his.

Didron says that "In Greece the artist is the slave of the theologian: his work, which his successors will copy, itself copies that of the painters who have preceded him. The Greek artist is bound to his tradition as an animal to its instinct. He paints a figure as a swallow makes its nest or a bee its hive. The Greek painter is master of his execution—the art is his own—but the art alone, for the invention and the idea belong to the Fathers, to the theologians of the Church." And again: "One would say that a single thought, animating a hundred brushes at the same time, produced in a single effort all the paintings of Greece." Didron had in mind especially the frescoed churches and refectories of Mt. Athos.

We should surely exaggerate if we applied such language to ikon painting as a whole. Would that not be to deny to the ikons any real claim to life and inspiration and beauty? We could not justly apply it to the ikons of Russia. As the wanderer lingers among the ancient churches of Novgorod the Great, for instance, it is just

such qualities of life, inspiration and beauty that he finds in their frescoed walls. And in Russian ikonography development is distinctly traceable. It is a tradition, but a living tradition from early days at Kiev, through the later school of painters associated with Veliki Novgorod, to the work of those who flourished at Moscow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when ikon painting in Russia came to its period of decadence. Its glory was the school of Novgorod in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the glory of that School is the work of the Masters Roubleff and Denis.

This art is no mere mummy wedged tightly in its case by volumes of traditional lore, it is a living thing, breathing the air of piety around it and even conscious of the fresh breezes which blew from distant Italy.

But to appreciate an ikon, whether Russian, Byzantine or other, it is necessary to realize its æsthetic limitations and its spiritual purpose. The painter set out to decorate a surface. He was not concerned with depicting depth of space; the problems of perspective did not interest him in the least. But the disposition of mass and colour and line did—the rhythmic harmony of curving lines, the answering emphasis of mass to mass, the gay and joyous colour—these things were in the mind of the ikon painter as he worked. And at his best he decorated a surface contained by four lines, in as beautiful and satisfying a manner as has any man of other artistic tradition.

Nor, if we look at an ikon of the Holy Mother and Child, are we disappointed at the lack of truth to nature, or seriously disturbed by the thought that no one ever really had hands like those. We know that the painter was not chiefly interested in human anatomy, nor concerned to give as exact a copy as possible of external reality. His spiritual purpose was his primary motive. He desired to show, or at least to suggest to us the beauty, the simplicity, the pathos and the tenderness of the Nativity. And again, as we look at the best of his work, we acknowledge that he has done what he intended, and done it supremely well.

They say that the Bolshevik authorities are interesting themselves in the recovery, preservation and restoration of these ancient artistic treasures of Holy Russia. The paradox is conceivable; for the Bolsheviks have often paraded their interest in art and culture. So it may happen that the recovery from loss, or the preservation from destruction, of a picture into which a Christ-loving monk in far-off days painted his love and faith, is the work of men who hate the Holy Name. "Recovery and preservation"—yes, for that, by any agency or from any motive we can be thankful. But "restoration"? God forbid. For how could such men even begin to understand what they held in their hands, or dimly to comprehend what the original maker of it meant?

"DOES ORTHODOXY POSSESS AN OUTWARD AUTHORITY OF DOGMATIC INFALLIBILITY?"

By Prof. BULGAKOFF.

(Translated from the Russian by the REV. R. M. FRENCH.)

THE simplest reply to the above question would be given, if, following the Roman Catholics and giving ourselves to a Roman Catholic trend of thought, we could answer with formal and indeed with Roman Catholic clearness: "In Orthodoxy such authority is found in Œcumenical Councils, and Councils in general, or even in the organs of supreme ecclesiastical government, or individual hierarchs of the highest rank who are sometimes apt, through human weakness, to tend in their own minds toward Roman Catholic ways of thinking and to give dogmatic infallibility to their own private opinions." Could we answer so, the whole difference between us and Roman Catholicism would be limited merely to the *organ* of this infallibility, which organ would, for the Roman Catholics, be an individual person, the Bishop of Rome, to whom, according to the Vatican Decree, belong infallibilities ***ex cathedra*** in matters of faith and morals; and for the Orthodox, a collective organ, *i.e.*, the council of Bishops. The actual possibility and necessity of an external infallible authority would not, in that case, be in question. And that fact would indirectly confirm the existence of a special *charisma fidis*, assigned by the Vatican definition to the Pope alone, but with us belonging to the totality of bishops, who would, therefore, also possess the *charisma infallibilitatis*.

Is this the case or not? That is the first and preliminary question. Does Orthodoxy differ from Roman Catholicism only in the character of the *organ* of infallibility, or does the difference go a great deal deeper, to such an extent that in Orthodoxy the existence and even the very possibility of such an organ are entirely denied? However strange it may be, this fundamental question does not always receive a unanimous answer in theological literature; or rather, it is not always stated with sufficient precision to exclude ambiguity and obscurity. Thus it is certainly not so stated in the authoritative manuals of Orthodox dogmatics of Philaret, the Archbishop of Cheringov, and the Metropolitan Macarius. In the first of these we find such a definition as this: "The supreme ecclesiastical authority . . . is the Œcumenical Council. . . . Their definitions were binding upon all. Thus the Œcumenical Councils by the *practical* consciousness of the Church constitute the highest ecclesiastical authority in the whole Church of Christ" (*Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, 3rd ed., St. Petersburg, 1882, Part II,

page 265). " The central point of spiritual authority for the universal Church is the Œcumenical Councils. . . . In them are decided finally all things which affect the whole Church, as the history of the Councils witnesses. No other authority higher than that of Œcumenical Councils is recognized in matters of faith, and unconditional submission to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils is accounted an absolute duty both for all the faithful and for the clergy themselves " (*Ibid.*, p. 231 *f.*).

Both definitions go no further than establishing the fact of the practical significance of Œcumenical Councils and their authority.

The Old Catholics have taken up a characteristic position in this matter, since they broke away from Roman Catholicism precisely on the ground of the Vatican decree. To them the question of the Church presented itself as the alternative between conciliar and individual constitution of the organ of infallible ecclesiastical authority (in the same way as it presented itself also to the reforming councils of Constance and Basel).

As an authoritative expression of the Orthodox consciousness, lovingly embraced by the whole Orthodox world, there appeared the famous Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs in 1849, in which was implicitly contained precisely the idea of the absence from Orthodoxy of an external organ of infallibility, since the maintenance of the truth is entrusted to the whole Church as the body ecclesiastic.

The precise and radical formulation of the question about the authority which teaches the faith in Orthodoxy, is due to Khomiakoff, who in so doing wrote his name indelibly in the history of Orthodox theological thought, as the apostle of freedom in Orthodoxy.

" The knowledge of divine truths is given to Christian love, and has no other guardian than that love " (*Khomiakoff Coll. Works* Vol. II, p. 162). " God Himself in revelation of living love—that is the Church " (p. 209). " The intelligent freedom of the faithful soul knows no external authority of any kind above it ; but the limit of this freedom lies in its unity of thought with the Church, and the extent of its justification is defined by the consciousness of all the faithful " (p. 245). Hence " the whole Church has accepted or rejected the definitions of councils according as she found them conformable or otherwise to her faith and her tradition, and accorded the name Œcumenical to those of them the decrees of which she accepted as the expression of her inward thought. Thus to their temporal authority in matters of discipline has been added an authority of indisputable and unchangeable character in matters of faith. The Œcumenical Councils became the voice of the Church " (p. 48). " Why were heretical councils rejected, although they presented no external differences whatever from Œcumenical? Simply because their decisions were not recognized as the voice of the

Church *by the whole Church*, by that body of people and in that sphere, where in matters of faith there is no difference between instructed and unlearned, ecclesiastic and lay, male and female, master and slave; where, when needful, in the providence of God, the boy receives the gift of vision, to the babe is given the word of wisdom, the heresy of the learned bishop is refuted by an illiterate herdsman, that all may be united in the free unity of living faith, which is the manifestation of the Divine Spirit. Such is dogma, lying in the depths of the idea of freedom" (pp. 71, 72).

Khomiakoff completely overturned the Roman Catholic form of putting the question, a form which had penetrated even into Orthodoxy. It had placed Orthodoxy in the position of an undecided and inconsistent Roman Catholicism, whereas the latter has the indisputable merit of consistency, and develops the idea of an external organ of ecclesiastical infallibility to its final end. The question simply stands thus: either the freedom of Orthodoxy, or . . . Papalism. And so, how do things actually stand in Orthodoxy as concerns an infallible authority of religious truth?

The problem of the infallible authority of the Church presents a peculiar difficulty in its formulation and discussion, and perhaps also in the impossibility of a final theoretical solution. The cause of this seems to be, not some external and irremovable difficulty or lack of clearness, but the very nature of the problem, in which is felt with great acuteness the inexpressibility of everything which touches the Church in her essential being. Nevertheless, even without hoping for a solution of the problem, it is necessary to formulate it in all its fullness, for it seems to be not only a fundamental supposition of Church life, but also characteristic of both trends of Christian thought and life, Western and Eastern. In the teaching of the Western Church a fundamental *motif* is the idea that an external absolute teaching authority belongs to the Church not only on the strength of her historical development, but as a necessary constituent predicate of the very notion of "churchness." The Church, in this sense, may be defined as the organization of power and authority. In opposition to this, Eastern Christianity asserts in her life (although this is not always fully understood) that no such external authority exists in the Church, that it ought not to be and cannot be. And there is nothing gained by being afraid of this assertion, avoiding it or befogging it with obscure formulas to the effect that the authority of a Pope does not exist among us, but none the less there is the authority of Œcumenical Councils, etc. Here it is a question of the very nature of the Church admitting of no sort of ambiguity or compromise.

Orthodox teaching knows no external teaching authority of the Church, cannot and should not know it. Fidelity to patristic tradition cannot be accounted the same as the Roman Catholic

conception of infallibility. The latter is defined as the ability *not* to be mistaken in judgment, and is concerned in the first instance with the sphere of theoretical thinking, although in the sphere of dogma.

In the philosophy and methodology of the sciences, the problem of the reliability (infallibility) of knowledge, or, in other words, the problem of the predicates of truth, is fated and perpetual. But if science does not and cannot know of external authority, still that does not mean that for her a base relativism is not avoidable; she must be content with inward marks of truth in self-evidence, self-consistency and the like; in a word, with her immanent criterion. However, even this system cannot be transferred from the sphere of science to that of ecclesiastical consciousness (and by making that transference the Western traditions, both Catholic and Protestant, have erred). For that criterion is satisfactory for scientific thought; but the Church is not only thought, or knowledge, or teaching, but the primordial depth of the one whole religious experience in relation to which all the words and thoughts which express it appear as secondary functions—reflections, as it were, of its separate moments and strata; if they claim to be the expression of the whole, they must be qualified as inadequate to it. Therefore dogmas, as judgments or thoughts about the faith, are different in kind from the theoretical constructions of science. They are only logical projections of supra-logical origin, the expression in words of that which in actual fact cannot be contained in words. The criterion of their truth is found not in the agreement of thought with itself (the formally immanent criterion) but in their livingness, in that, in fact, which lies in the foundation of their definitions and only projects itself in words and judgments.

Therefore, in speaking of dogmas we have to have in view not the truth or otherwise of formulas and definitions (which have a derivative and purely working significance) but the correctness or incorrectness of that life-experience which lies in their foundation. If it flows forth from the one and whole life of the Church, if it is of the Church, and true, then also its dogmatic definition conforms with its own designation. But if it shows itself the issue of a living deviation, a separation from the one life of the Church (heresy signifies simply "separation,") then also its projection in the logical medium, dogma, has the nature of self-willed philosophizing, false teaching and sin.

Dealing in this way with dogmatic definitions, it is well to speak not so much of their truth or falsity, as of their "churchness" (catholicity, universality) or their heresy. And in agreement with this, heresy appears not as verbal or logical error in reasoning of divine matters, but as a living perversion of the heretic himself, an unhealthy change, arising in the human heart. Every heresy is

a separation from the Church, a falling-away from her, an odd spiritual isolation, and the self-existence of separation. This separation from the one and absolute life is also the cause of the inescapable spiritual impoverishment of the heretic. In contrast with this the Church is always full, endlessly rich and always equal to herself, for she retains within herself the fullness of all things and is moved by the Holy Spirit. And therefore the outward expression also of the life of the Church, her dogmatic definitions, possess absolute truth, namely, in the strength of the ontological fullness of her life. But just here steals in the main difficulty of the problem. For in the measure that the truth of dogmas depends upon the fullness of life, to that extent the right to express them can belong only to one possessing that fullness, that is, exclusively to the Church herself—to the Holy Spirit living in her. If we endeavour to discover any sort of external mouthpiece of the consciousness of the Church (whatever it may be—Council or Pope—makes no difference) indicating a definite external criterion, we by that very fact inevitably depart from the whole-Church point of view, and substitute for the whole Church, as such, one of her separate moments. The question immediately arises: What is the Church? Where is she? In the totality of all that is created by God and living by the divine life? or in that point which we accept as the criterion of Church consciousness?

Consequently, it becomes clear that Orthodoxy knows no sort of absolute organ, and accepts as the Church only herself, in her realization which manifests itself in every breath of her life, and not admitting of any *pars pro toto*, but knowing only *pars in*. However, notwithstanding this Orthodoxy desires to be, and cannot but be, the Church of *tradition*. Everything that it possesses, everything in which it is rich—dogmatic, canonical, liturgical—it desires holily to maintain, revere, fulfil. But this must be a free submission to authority, and not a submissive subjection to power, an obedience as the result of love, as love itself. For love signifies unity; but self-willed action, as separation from the Church and falling away from her unity, is an unloving act, grounded in self and arrogant. If, for example, I, through moral weakness, do not observe the fasts prescribed by the Church, then I commit a certain sin; but if I do not accept the fast, do not consider it necessary and useful for me, opposing my littleness to the consciousness of the Church, then in the very act of so doing I separate myself from it, fall away from it, become a heretic. My consciousness then drags out a phantom individual existence and appears to itself to be independent and self-grounded, whereas according to its nature it ought to be dissolved in absolute truth, living in the Church. How, indeed, is it possible not inwardly to hearken to that which you consider higher than yourself, before which you bow, to which you

pray? Indeed tradition, although it exists outside us, is the expression of the collective Church consciousness, its vehicle and its guardian. And therefore it freely subjects to itself every one who shares in that consciousness. The most captivating, the most arousing characteristic of the Church is just that freedom which must necessarily be united with ecclesiastical discipline and obedience. Repudiating it, we repudiate the very idea of the Church and substitute for it a dead juridical mechanism of organized obedience and subjection; in the room of New Covenant grace placing the Ancient Law, descending from Orthodoxy to legalism.

But life in the Church is one whole act; and therefore it is always distinguished by its creative character. Not in the sense of creating something new out of nothing, but as a vital, living, and consequently free incarnation of the content of Church consciousness. Thus in Orthodoxy obedience is always linked with the freedom of the sons of God, with the boldness of the friends of God, with the unquenchableness of the Spirit, with the indestructibility of prophecy. The Church can never be a lifeless preserver of tradition, she always demands the venture of love. Thus freedom also is an inalienable characteristic of Orthodoxy. It is often felt as a dreadful responsibility, as a burden beneath the load of which the shoulders of the weak and timid are bent, and which it is so easy and tempting to transfer to the shoulders of another. But to do that is to surrender to the seduction of Scribism and Pharisaism, to set one's foot upon the way of a dead understanding of the Church, to listen to Dostoievsky's Grand Inquisitor who offered to set man free from the burdensome gift of freedom. But in truth it actually constitutes the very essence of the spiritual individuality for which God created the world and for the salvation of which God the Son was incarnate and died. Yet great is the temptation to repudiate freedom for the sake of a blind obedience, and to see the abiding image of the Church upon her surface, to believe that her inward nerve emerges to the outside and becomes the external expression of her essence. Such is the construction of Papalism. Protestantism also, however, which commonly opposes itself to it—though in actual fact separated from it by a very thin line—is, in its nature, of the same construction, only understood in another way. Protestantism is the religion of arrogant isolated chilly human personality striving to find its basis in itself and only in itself and desiring to set up a Church for itself and through itself. So that that which in Papalism is, in fact, denied in the name of unity of organization and power, is, in Protestantism, offered as a sacrifice to human pride. Protestantism thus displays an Ego-Papalism, in which everyone by the power of his reasoning, knowledge, etc., desires to be a Pope for himself, laying claim consequently to infallibility in matters of faith. By it tradition is entirely rejected and swept aside and thus is destroyed

the unity of "churchness" of grace and of inspiration, of which unity tradition serves as the outward expression and concretely received fact. This is done in the name of liberty and refusal to submit to a so-called coercive external authority; but it is precisely in the consciousness that ecclesiastical authority is not outward, not coercive, but loved and cherished, and that wherein personal will and love find expression, that the authentic feeling of "churchness" consists which distinguishes Orthodoxy in the same way alike from Papalism and from Protestantism.

In Protestantism all spiritual force, being without roots in the Church soil, must naturally be directed to the region of the exercise of human reason, *i.e.*, to that spiritual capacity in man which in particular feels itself to be independent and self-supporting. This we actually see in the measure to which Protestantism tends to become scientific Christianity, the religion of scientific men and professors, who multiply religious-scientific literature, not only for the sake of scientific diversion, but also as a consequence of that inborn piety of the human soul which is eager to serve God, even if in the wrong way.

We must not, of course, deny the scientific mind to Roman Catholicism also. But there it is not a flood of individualistic investigations, but a strictly-worked-out and harmonious theological doctrine; a doctrine all parts of which are elaborated with the utmost possible fullness and precision, and linked up among themselves into the likeness of a code of laws. And precisely in distinction from these two kinds of religious thought, in Orthodoxy we have not so much theology as "theologizing," not doctrine, but rather "contemplation and speculation," the inspiration of religious experience, not fitted into any previously supplied frames, but free in its vital intensity. This is the eternally uninterrupted story of constantly realized Church experience full of freedom and inspiration. And this explains the fact that in Orthodoxy there exist so many theological opinions and individual judgments, which, while not in the least losing their value and significance, are sometimes not in agreement with one another—*in dubiis libertas*. For Roman Catholic disciplined thought this circumstance always constitutes a ground of reproach to Orthodoxy. But to this one may reply that in Roman Catholicism unity of system is linked with a loss of freedom and consequently with inward paralysis of Church thought. In Orthodoxy that ever-creative "theologizing" (which, when it seeks to assume a doctrinal character, habitually becomes a feeble imitation of Roman Catholicism) is freedom and the realization of true "churchness," authentically the inspiration of love in moments of spiritual intensity, even though it may result, through our weakness, in an appearance of spiritual laxity, irresponsibility and anarchy.

Liberty, although the fundamental ground of Orthodoxy, does not in the least hinder the Church from being hierarchical, as is seen in the distinction between the clergy—the teaching Church, and the flock—the hearkening Church. And precisely to the clergy belongs the right of authoritative judgment in questions of faith and worship, and the authoritative preaching of the word of God, together with the conduct of divine worship which includes it. And therefore the Orthodox Councils are assemblies of Bishops. And yet this does not mean that the hearkening Church is entirely deprived of any share in the working out of the faith, as is the case in Roman Catholicism, where passive infallibility (*infallibilitas passiva*) consists exclusively in the duty of blind obedience. The Church guardianship of the truth, the living care of it in consciousness and feeling belongs to the whole Church corporate, to the whole body of the Church. Every one of her members not only passively receives but actively confirms in his personal Church-consciousness the common Church experience. And therefore the very division of the Church body into those who only command and those who only obey is wrong. But such a state of affairs, in which every living member of the Church in one way or another, but still actively, shares in the living unfolding of Church truth, increases to an extraordinary degree the particularly difficult problem of the significance and authority of the Œcumenical Councils. For the seven Œcumenical Councils have for Orthodoxy an authority of unconditional obligation, and their decisions possess in the highest conceivable degree the character of Church infallibility. Not without good reason did Pope Gregory the Great place the authority of the first four Councils on a level with that of the four canonical Gospels. Nevertheless, this still does not give us the right to define the substance of Orthodoxy by the decrees of the seven Councils, for, on the one hand, Orthodoxy existed before them and, on the other, they are far from exhausting the content of Orthodoxy. For the Councils assembled and made their pronouncements with a view to the heresies that had broken out, and accordingly worked out dogmatically the teaching about the Divine and Human Natures of Jesus Christ which was the subject of the religious controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. This explains the fact that in the conciliar definitions (saving the condemnation of Nestorianism at the Third Council), there is not one word about a matter which constitutes an inalienable and an essential part of Orthodox faith and life—the veneration of the Mother of God. And so the question is extraordinarily difficult, but still just as inescapable: In what sense do the Œcumenical Councils possess indisputable authority in Orthodoxy? Does there belong to them a power similar to the Papal, or is it determined by other characteristics which are entirely *sui generis*? Historical facts throw light upon this problem for

us, but they do not solve it, because its solution lies in the realm not of fact but of standard. However, these facts may themselves have a dogmatic significance, since they are the facts which establish the standard; and from this point of view it becomes important to investigate how the recognition of the authority of the Œcumenical Councils was accomplished, from what moment were they established as Œcumenical? Here from the very first we must set aside the formal criterion. The actual representation of the whole Christian world in the Œcumenical Councils was both impossible in fact and certainly was not demanded by Church consciousness. The overwhelming majority in the Œcumenical Councils, which met within the confines of the Byzantine Empire, was naturally represented by Greek Bishops, the Roman Pope was represented by his legates, but at the second and fifth Councils even these last were entirely absent. The designation "Œcumenical" belonged to councils rather in connection with the fact that they were summoned by the Emperors, who were considered the legal holders of Œcumenical Christian power. Further, the recognition and authority of the councils came into force by no means immediately after their termination. Thus the First Council of Nicæa, of the 318 Fathers, whose credal definition is fundamental, not for Orthodoxy only, was not immediately acknowledged as "Œcumenical," which it accounted itself to be. On the contrary, it resulted in the appearance of new heresies and new councils which did not recognize it, and only the Second Council of Constantinople, in 381, finally established its status and accorded it the designation of "Œcumenical Council."

This has an extraordinarily important significance in principle, for the very fact of the status of one Council being established by another, sufficiently indicates that a Council possesses no external formal authority; it receives it in the subsequent life of the Church; a Council becomes "Œcumenical" in the consciousness, with the consciousness, and through the consciousness of the Church. It acquires the authority of infallibility as a consequence of its agreement with the self-consciousness of the Church. Only the Church herself is able to establish that agreement, to recognize that a given Council reveals itself as an authentic image of the Church. The formula with which ecclesiastical decrees begin: "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," has in this connection no decisive significance, for with it began also the decrees of local councils. It was used also by the heretic Dioscuros' Latrocinium of Ephesus to which the Church replied with an anathema. That formula expresses primarily the prayerful desire of the assembled fathers that the definition arrived at by them may be inspired by the Holy Spirit and not by the individual mind of the several members. It bears witness to the fact that there actually took place a Church assembly, and a given definition was the expression not of individual

opinion, but of a certain Church unity. Hence it is put forth under the sanctifying name of the Holy Spirit.

And so the question of full and formally regular representation is a comparatively secondary one, as neither a number of bishops, nor the locality of a Council nor even the Council itself, has any essential significance. The significance of the saint or of the man of great spiritual force, who reveals in himself the image of the Church and continues with her in uninterrupted inward association, may, in a Church sense, be greater than that of a numerous and regularly constituted assembly of bishops; as at the Council of Nicæa truth was on the side of the deacon Athanasius against almost the whole episcopate. Thus in history the establishment of the authority of the Œcumenical Councils passes through a period which we must recognize as the time of their "conditionally-dogmatic" authority. It continues until such a time as the universal Church consciousness gives a final sanction to the definitions of the Council.

Nevertheless, directly also, the Œcumenical Council, as a gathering of hierarchs, is the highest visible ecclesiastical authority, binding upon every son of the Church, for he who does not submit to the bishop by that very fact rends asunder the body of the Church. Therefore the decrees of the Council also, the canons, are put forth by them in the form of imperative and authoritative commands, obligatory decrees, invested with all the weight and power inherent in the episcopal order. But their final acceptance or rejection by the Church consciousness (not as *commands* of the Council issued from the supreme ecclesiastical *power*, but as the expressions of the will and consciousness of the whole Church) is achieved by the strength of that inward freedom to which the children of God are called, and which lays upon them the right and the duty of putting to the test of experience and receiving into the measure of their spiritual development, all doctrinal definitions. Orthodoxy knows no special *charisma* of doctrine such as Roman Catholicism knows, and for that reason dogmas possess force in that degree in which they are received by the Church, and, as soon as they are accepted by Church consciousness, they receive the authority of infallibility. Of course, this final acceptance cannot be expressed in any sort of formal act, for this would not decide the matter, but only refer it to a higher court. It is impossible to indicate where and when the acceptance is accomplished; but the fact of it possesses for a given time the highest spiritual authenticity, although that authenticity cannot be given a rational definition. Thus it is, and by this "is" Church tradition is defined.

This position with regard to Church authority, so difficult and disputable in its logical aspect, ought to be fearlessly asserted as a characteristic essential of Orthodoxy. In Roman Catholicism the question is much clearer and simpler, and is summed up in the

formula *Roma locuta est; causa finita est.* But Orthodoxy knows no other Rome than the Church guided by her invisible Head, the Lord Jesus Christ, and fulfilled by the Holy Spirit. His actions are mysterious and past finding out and cannot be adapted to any one formal moment which can be indicated beforehand (like the accomplished words and actions in the sacraments). A Council has significance, not as an infallible authority in matters of faith, which even *it* does not possess, but as a means of awakening and revealing Church consciousness; and also as the supreme organ of the power of the Church. Thus the primary significance belongs to conciliar deliberation; the Council itself acquires authority only in the fullness of time; and only after the lapse of some time that authority becomes entirely authentic. In the dogmatic consciousness of the Church the fact is fundamental that far from all dogmatic truths are expressed through conciliar deliberation in Councils, but many are accepted through the uninterruptedly accomplished inward conciliar deliberation by the conciliar mind of the Church. Conciliar definitions in this sense are only single reefs appearing above the ocean of religious life, and do not exhaust all the immeasurable riches hidden in the depths beneath the water. With this conception is closely connected the question of the further development of dogmatics, or, as it is sometimes put, of progress in dogma, of the creation of new dogmas. This question has been given special prominence in Roman Catholic theological thought, and to a certain extent also among us—among the members of the agitated circles of religious-philosophical associations during the nineties, in which claims to the right of inventing new dogmas grew up parallel with dogmatic sterility and the futility of such pretensions. With respect to this we must note the following:—In the Church consciousness there is but one indivisible, indisputable dogmatic fact, which is not a teaching and not a doctrine, but a life of grace by the power of the Holy Spirit. In relation to that life and that power the very formulation of the question of development or progress in dogma is impious and absurd, for in the Holy Spirit everything exists, everything is given and nothing develops, nor can anything change. And this power of grace and divine fullness cannot be expressed or explained, strictly speaking, by any kind of teaching or doctrine expressed in terms of human understanding and speech. In this sense there is not and cannot be any sort of exhaustive deposit of faith, except in a relatively historical sense, and Church truth exists completely independently of the degree in which people know and recognize it. And similarly, just as before the Œcumenical Councils and the dogmatic formulation of doctrine, the Church was not any poorer than she was afterwards; in the same way, the Church in herself, in her being, did not change and was not enriched by the fact that this or that side of the dogmatic

system was gradually and in order unrolled before men. However, turning from the Church herself, in her essence, to the men who enter into her constitution and through whom her history is unrolled, we see that in this region there cannot but issue eternal dogmatic creation and new revealing of the unchangeably real truth. Similarly, as every human being, when he searches into the depths of his own nature, finds in himself new aspects and a new profundity, so in the same way the Church consciousness is capable of endless and creative dogmatic enrichment. This does not, of course, involve the necessity of inventing new dogmas or of being eager to summon new Œcumenical Councils for that purpose. But, dogmatically, there is not the slightest ground for supposing that the possible number of Œcumenical Councils must necessarily be limited to seven, although, historically, it is entirely possible. It is possible to suppose that the seven Œcumenical Councils which have taken place laid the essential foundations of Orthodoxy. But, on the other hand, we cannot help seeing things that are unwritten and not formally sanctioned, though in fact they receive the significance of dogmatic positions in the consciousness of the Church, such as everything relating to the veneration of the Mother of God. And we must not shut our eyes to the burning, ever-present necessity of dogmatically throwing light upon, and working out, such questions —as of the Divine Name, of St. Sophia, and others. These matters do not crop up in the Church consciousness by chance or by human caprice. A subject which for centuries has appeared to men to be a matter of indifference, suddenly takes its place in the centre of consciousness, and evokes a storm of controversy and dispute. And so, at the time of the ripening of such problems, work upon them becomes a duty, linked with the precious gift of freedom and limitless courage, but also with a terrible responsibility for the use of that gift. The fact that these problems find each of them its time of awakening in consciousness, its historical moment in the history of the Church, ought not to disturb us. In the cupola of Orthodoxy, as in the heavenly vault, crowning the earth and appearing as a veritable heaven on earth (exactly as in the representations of it in our Churches), there are many stars which shed their light simultaneously upon the traveller of this world; but they come into prominence successively, one after the other enchaining to itself his enchanted eyes. But in that heaven there is a breadth, a depth, a freedom of which it is necessary to be worthy, taking them not with the obedience of slaves, but as the supreme gift worthy of the sons of God.

The problem of freedom and authority in the Church cannot be solved by the understanding and the constructions of human logic. Nor should we be afraid to repeat, after the greatest of Russian Church historians, Bolotoff, that in these problems of the recognition

and authority of general Councils we are formally, though not in actual fact, moving in a vicious circle. Nevertheless, precisely a vicious circle is the only living, correct and credible answer to the question about the unreasoned, and, by human intelligence ununderstood, inward life of the Church in the human spirit.

And therefore we should not fear nor flee from these unavoidable vicious circles, nor break through them, as Roman Catholic rationalism does, with eagerness to be liberated from them. But we should search out that interior spot standing upon which we may survey the whole circle, and understand that, as is its inescapable rational viciousness so is also its living spiritual truth. In a given instance such a spot is the authentic inward "churching" of the human spirit, *i.e.*, the state in which it ceases to be just its own self and becomes one with the Church.

A CRUISE IN GREEK WATERS.

WE went first to Zacynthos or Zante ("Woody Zante," as Homer described it), one of the Ionian Islands. The British Consul arranged an interview for me with the Bishop, and I went to see him the following day, accompanied by Mr. Alexander, one of the British residents, who acted as interpreter

The Bishop, Dionysius, was Chaplain for some years at the Greek Church in London and speaks English a little. He received me very graciously. Liqueur and Turkish Delight were brought in on a tray, and I told him that, as a humble member of the Anglican Communion, I wanted to assure him of the sympathy of a large number of Anglicans with their brethren in the Greek Church. He expressed his great gratitude for the support given them by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, after further conversation, gave me a photograph of himself, a list of his Holy Week services and one or two other small memoirs of my visit. I asked him to dine with me on board that night, but he had to attend a service at the Cathedral and suggested I should come, too.

On my return to the ship I sent him a small picture, a Madonna Gran Duca, which was hanging in my cabin, asking him to do me the honour of accepting it as a small and grateful token of my visit.

In the afternoon several of us visited the local monastery. The monks had heard of our arrival at Zante and were the kindest of hosts. They took us into the monastery and gave us refreshment, they took us into their church and conducted devotions before the body of their local saint—Dionysius, which we were glad to venerate.

That evening I attended the service at the Cathedral. It was Passion Week, which last year fell a week earlier than ours in the West. An official conducted me to behind the ikonostas, where I vested in cassock, surplice, hood and scarf, and, on emerging into the body of the church, I found a special seat had been placed for me at the right hand of the Bishop.

The congregation seemed very interested in the presence of an Anglican priest, and after the service, when they came up to kiss the Bishop's hand, some of them made as if they would have kissed my hand, too, but I felt it was the Bishop's occasion and quietly withdrew.

The Bishop invited me to his house until the boat should come to take me back to the ship. It would have been a pleasure to accept, but it was getting late and he was obviously tired, and so I went instead to Mr. Alexander's house, and met some of his Greek friends. It was a delightful evening and they seemed very interested in the Anglican Church.

Some amusing rumours went round the town concerning the

purpose of our visit. One was that we had gone there to further negotiations between the Greek and Anglican Churches! A mistaken idea, indeed. God grant that reunion may come about one day, but it will not be by means of men-of-war. The British Navy may be prepared to take on a great number of things, but the reunion of Christendom—that it would consider, indeed, outside its province. Besides, what would the Admiralty say, not to mention the British taxpayer, if ships of war were used for that purpose, and especially with the cry of "Economy in Oil Fuel" in the air?

A few weeks later we were at Argostoli, the capital of Cephalonia, which lies at the head of a large bay. An interesting feature of the place is a water-mill driven by the sea, which runs into the land and then—disappears.

We went there for the Fleet Regatta, but I made use of the opportunity to call on Damascenos, the Metropolitan of Cephalonia. Mrs. Toole, one of the British residents, kindly arranged my visit.

Damascenos is a tall, fine-looking man with charming manners. He enquired especially about the *Filioque* clause and our doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament. I said the usual things about the *Filioque* clause, that, while we thought the East ought to have been consulted before it was inserted in the Creed, yet there was no difference between them and us in regard to the theological point at issue. With regard to the Blessed Sacrament, I told him that our doctrine, as expressed in the official formulæ of the Church of England, was entirely in line with that of historic Christendom. He asked whether there were many in the Church of England with the same doctrinal outlook as myself, and I said there was a large and increasing number of Anglicans who might be described as Orthodox in their conception of Christianity.

He invited me to go and spend the week-end with him in the country, for the feast of the Assumption, but my duties prevented me leaving the ship. I asked him to accept a bottle of Benedictine as a small token of goodwill. It was the only present I could think of, situated as I was in a ship. Besides, good wine is always a good emblem of a good fellowship.

> "For Catholic men that live upon wine
> Are deep in the water, and frank and fine—
> Wherever I travel I find it so.
> Benedicamus Domino."[1]

The Bishop embraced me warmly and gave me his photograph.

After a short visit to Karystos, a pretty little seaport in the south of Eubœa, abounding in figs and olives and grapes and tortoises, we went to Chios, an island (claiming, against other places, to be the birthplace of Homer), in the Ægean Sea just off the coast of Asia Minor.

[1] Belloc.

The Bishop of Chios, Hieronymos, is an elderly man, about to retire. He is a very lovable person and was extremely kind, and welcomed me as a member of the Anglican Communion. In his opinion, Anglican Bishops, without any doubt, were in direct and valid succession from Archbishop Parker. He showed me a photograph of his great friend, Chrysostom, the late Bishop of Smyrna, a fine-looking man with a beautiful face, and described how he had been cut to pieces by the Turks, first his lips, then his nose, then his ears, and so on.

A bottle of Grand Marnier was my offering on this occasion, and later in the day two tins of delicious preserved fruit arrived from him, together with a signed photograph of himself.

Staying with Hieronymos was Callinicos, the Bishop-elect of Macedonia. He knows both Canon Douglas and the Bishop of Gibraltar.

M. Jean Psichari was another visitor in the house. He is Professor of Hebrew at Paris University and was making a short stay in Chios for a conference on education. He had married a daughter of the late Ernest Renan and was a friend of Dreyfus and Clemenceau. He came to luncheon with me on board and it was very kind of him, for he is not a young man and the day was very hot, and to climb ladders under these circumstances is no pleasant job, but he was very plucky and a delightful guest.

There is a famous monastery at Chios, the monastery of St. Menas, about eight miles out of the town. It dates from the eleventh century, and, like so many monasteries in Greece, stands on the top of a hill. It has a wonderful view on one side, looking across a narrow strip of blue sea, to the coast of Asia Minor beyond. There are only four monks there now, and they lay-brothers, but a priest goes to say Mass for them every week. The other residents are refugees from Smyrna, which is only sixty miles away.

A big massacre took place at the monastery in 1821. It was on the occasion of a revolution. Women and children had taken refuge inside, but the Turks, who then owned the island, broke in (you can still see the marks of their bayonets on the old doors) and massacred the lot. Bloodstains can still be seen on the floor of the little church, and in a small building close by the bones of the victims are kept—skulls, arms, legs, etc., all stacked up on either side. The anniversary of the massacre is kept on November 11th.

There are no Turks in Chios now. The only signs of their former residence are an old disused mosque in the Market Place, and the Turkish appearance of the walls and houses outside the town. I was told that some of the Turks, who used to live there, but have since returned to Asia Minor, invited some of their Greek friends to go across the water and help them to cultivate the land. Apparently the Turk cannot do it by himself!

M. Leandis was another kind friend at Chios. He acted as my guide and interpreter all the time I was there and I am very grateful to him.

Lemnos was our next port of call. It is a terribly bleak and barren-looking place. What a place to have been stationed at during the war, with the prospect of being sent on to Gallipoli any day! Though perhaps that might have been a relief! Once, it is said, it was wooded, fertile and green, but the Turks, who then owned the island, cut down all the trees, because they sheltered Greek brigands! It might be interesting to discuss, as an admiral remarked, how far the Turks were responsible for making them brigands. Has any nation under the Turk ever had a chance to develop properly?

The one thing of interest at Lemnos is the British cemetery, in which I noticed the grave of Charles Lister. Part of the cemetery is given up to Russians who were killed during the war.

While at Lemnos, a large party of us went in a destroyer for a day's trip to Gallipoli. At first the Turks did not want us to land, but after some discussion they consented and we spent several hours wandering about on shore, walking through disused trenches and the battered village, looking at dismantled guns, and visiting the famous V Beach and the well-kept British cemeteries.

A few hours' steaming brought us, a few days later, from Lemnos to Skyros. Skyros is an attractive little island, wooded and mountainous, in the middle of the Ægean Sea, associated with the names of Theseus and Achilles.

There is a famous monastery there, dedicated to St. George (how popular he is in the East), dating from the ninth century, and standing on the topmost peak of one of the mountains. The ascent to it is by quaint, narrow, stone-paved winding streets. It was a long climb, and we were grateful to the daughter of one of our hosts who came out of her house and offered us grapes, by the way. The monks were very hospitable, gave us refreshment and showed us round the place. It is served by monks from Mt. Athos, which is not far away, and some of them were returning there that night.

While at Skyros, several of us made a great effort to visit Rupert Brooke's grave—"that corner of a foreign land which is for ever England"—but it was a long way off and the day was hot, the time was short, and there was no chance of reaching the spot, so we allowed ourselves to be beguiled by some kind people, and turned aside and sat down under the shelter of their vine-covered pergola, while they set before us grapes and figs and wine and ice-cold water, and asked us to stay and share their evening meal.

Nor must I forget Καλλη, the little daughter of the house, aged seven, who taught me Greek, and presented each one of us with a bouquet of flowers.

The next place we visited was Zeitun in the gulf of Eubœa. The famous Pass of Thermopylæ could be seen about ten miles away. Some of us tried to climb the Pass, but were defeated by the mud. It was a great adventure, and we shall never forget that half-mile walk back to the motor-boat, wading through the sea, sinking at each step, up to our knees in thick black mud and stopping every thirty yards to take breath. Since that day there have been other heroes of Thermopylæ besides Leonidas!

After visiting Sinus Opuntius, further down the Gulf, where we were afflicted by a dry, hot wind, and Ædipsos, with its natural hot sulphur springs, we arrived at Volo, a large seaport town in Thessaly, with Mt. Pelion in the background.

I tried to see the Bishop of Volo, but unfortunately he was away and did not return before we left. The country round is very attractive, if one is prepared to climb, and I visited several churches in the neighbourhood. In one of them a baby girl was being christened. A good number of relatives and friends were present, all in most cheerful mood. The priest was a striking-looking figure with his long white hair and beard. He stood in front of the font with his sleeves rolled up, and had a hard struggle with the baby, who noisily objected to being dipped in the water! After the christening she was dried and clad in a completely new set of clothes.

From Volo we went to Ægina. At one time Ægina used to be the capital of Greece, but it is now quite a small place, though some of the smaller business people of Athens use it as a health resort. There are some interesting ruins in the neighbourhood, a temple of Venus, close by, where I said a "Hail Mary," and a temple of Jupiter, but that is some distance away and I was unable to reach it.

From Ægina a small steam-boat, the *Actæno*, runs daily to the Piræus, a two-hours' trip, and thence by car or electric train to Athens.

The proprietor of the hotel at Athens, a Swiss, was most attentive, especially when he heard I carried with me introductions to the Archbishop and the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch. When I asked him where they lived, though, he replied, but in quite a friendly way, "I'm afraid I don't know. I'm a Protestant myself, but the porter will tell you." The obvious deduction as to the religious colouring of an Anglican was a new and refreshing experience in a foreign country.

I went to call on the Archbishop Chrysostom that afternoon, and he returned my call the same day. He is a small man, very alert, with rather a severe manner, but most unassuming and kind. He speaks English fluently and is very much in touch with Western thought and knows a number of Anglican ecclesiastics.

It was his "at home" hour, and several people were waiting to see him. Besides that, the Synod was meeting in Athens at the

time, and so it was a specially busy time for him. None the less he made me very welcome, gave me some of his valuable time and invited me to come again the following day. Hanging on his wall is the picture of St. Sophia at Constantinople, given him by the members of the Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage last year.

Leaving the Archbishop, I motored out to Kephissia, an attractive-looking suburb, to call on Meletios, the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch. Thousands of refugees are living in temporary houses along the road, and are a big problem to the Greek Government. Since they were driven out of Turkey, according to an article in the *Spectator*, the Turks have been in difficulties over their carpet-making. It was Greek labour that used to make them all!

Meletios lives in a small and unpretending house, but to my great regret he was away and not expected back till the end of the month.

The next day I presented myself again to the Archbishop. He talked with me for some time, and before I left gave me his photograph, now hanging in my cabin, and a copy of his pamphlet in defence of Anglican Orders.

After Athens we were to have gone to Cyprus, but our visit was cancelled at the last moment. It was a great disappointment, for was not St. Barnabas the first bishop of Cyprus? And besides, I carried with me an introduction to the present Archbishop.

We went to Crete though, where St. Titus is said to have been Bishop, but again we were disappointed, for an epidemic broke out, which prevented us getting about as much as we should have liked, and I could neither call on the Bishop nor visit the excavations at Knossus.

It rained at Crete and we were thankful for it. It was the first rain we had had after a long spell of dust and heat and blazing sunshine. It was worth while going ashore just to see "all the green things upon the earth" and to smell the fragrance of the fresh wet soil.

And then we came back to Malta, where we have been ever since, and at the moment of writing we are lying at anchor only a few hundred yards away from St. Paul's Bay, the scene of his shipwreck. There is a little island in the middle of the bay, and on it a large stone figure of St. Paul with arm upraised.

It is the feast of his shipwreck to-day (February 10th), and the Maltese keep it with high honour. The Anglican Cathedral, too, is dedicated to it. Yesterday I visited the spot, and this morning at prayers read to the sailors St. Luke's account of the wreck, in full view of the scene. Fortunately there was no "tempestuous wind," but a "gregale," the modern Euroclydon, has just been reported as threatening, and "steam in two boilers," in case of emergency, has just been ordered.

B. H. Lloyd Oswell, *Chaplain, R.N.*

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

UNHAPPILY, the deadlock between King Fuad and the Egyptian Orthodox, forecast as possible in our January article on the Alexandrian Patriarchal Election, not only eventuated but was still preventing an election in the middle of March. The cause of that deadlock, however, is not simply the Egyptian King's claim to exercise in the present-day sovereign Egyptian Sultanate the old mediæval right of *radiation* (*i.e.*, of receiving from the Electoral body a list of eligibles and striking out whomever he chooses), exercised by all the Ottoman Sultans in the election of the heads of the *millets* of the Christian *rayah* throughout their dominions.

If that right is preposterous in the modern world, it has analogy in Western Europe and possesses some legal basis. Egypt was theoretically integral in the Ottoman Empire until the Great War, and its King realises, no doubt, that, if he submitted the matter to the Hague under the Minorities' clauses of the Egyptian Constitution, his claims to have succeeded to every right of the Ottoman Sultans would not be non-suited. Since, to the great injury of religion, it is the nature of governments to be tenacious of control in things ecclesiastical, it is neither surprising that King Fuad persisted in the usurpation, nor that, in order not to be left with a vacant throne, the democratic Electoral Assembly of the Alexandrian Patriarchate conceded it *pro hac vice*. The abuse of that concession by his Palace officials is the trouble. When the Assembly sent in a list of eligibles practically identical with our forecast, the King struck out every name in it except those of two of the three metropolitans of Egypt, the excuse being given that semi-officially the eight rejected were not Egyptian subjects. The Assembly was informed concurrently that three names must be submitted to the King, from which he would select the new Patriarch. That demand was rejected by the Assembly on the ground that even under the despotic Ottoman Sultans it had no precedent whatever and that—as indeed it would—its acceptance involved a breach of Orthodox Canon Law which would make the election anti-canonical. There the matter rested on March 16th, but, grave though the canonical question is, the more serious feature of the aggression is the requirement that, before election, the new Patriarch must possess "Egyptian" nationality. The Orthodox Communities of Egypt number something about 100,000, of whom 30,000 are arabophone Syrians. While Egypt was technically an Ottoman dominion, the requirement of Ottoman nationality barred the election of a bishop of the Church of Greece, but the bishops of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, as also of Cyprus, were always eligible for any throne in the Empire; the Patriarch Photios, for example, being called to Alexandria from a Palestine bishopric.

That interchange of the kind should remain free is of great importance for the vigorous life of the Greek Orthodox Churches, intellectual and progressive as well as ecclesiastical. Their theological students all use the same educational centres and they are, in fact, a real solidarity. That an artificial isolation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and a limitation of the field of choice of its chief pastor must prove a set-back to Egyptian Christianity and might prove a disaster, is unimportant relatively. When it is remembered that the Patriarch of Alexandria, being the second hierarch in the Orthodox world, his personality must play no small part among the *imponderabilia* which will decide the history of the Near East during the next ten years, the egregious character of the attempted usurpation is apparent. For our part we cannot but trust anxiously that the Alexandrian Electoral Assembly will find courage to stand firmly on the ground which it has taken. As to whom the Orthodox call to the Throne of St. Mark, is not our business. But with all Christendom, we Anglicans are deeply concerned that they should be free to choose the best man.

This regrettable aggression at Alexandria must further diminish the probability of the Assembly at Mt. Athos this year of a Pan-Orthodox Council. Telegrams in the daily Press had, indeed, announced that a summons, convening such a Council, had been sent by the Œcumenical Patriarchate to each of the particular autokephalous Orthodox Churches, and some even asserted that the Anglican, Swedish and Roman Catholic Churches had been invited to take part in it. What has happened is this. After much thought, following the only course possible—for the autokephalous churches are free to accept or reject such a summons—the Œcumenical Patriarchate issued an encyclical last November, enquiring whether they would co-operate in holding a Pan-Orthodox Council to open on the Orthodox Pentecost, June 28th, of this year. A copy of that encyclical was printed, for example, in the *Jerusalem Near Zion* for December. Some of the autokephalous churches, *e.g.*, Jerusalem, replied at once in the affirmative, but others have not yet answered, and therefore, in any case, the date proposed would not easily be possible. But many signs point to indefinite postponement. Thus there is good authority for saying that, as might have been forecast, the Turks have warned the Œcumenical Patriarch that if he or any of his few bishops go to the Holy Mountain, Turkey will be barred to their return. The Council cannot be held until a canonical Patriarch be elected at Alexandria. And above all, until the resolution of the crisis—described below—in the Russian Church which the death of the Patriarch Tikhon has been used to create, the Russians cannot be represented canonically.

The agenda suggested for the Council by the Œcumenical Patriarchate as the prime and urgent need of its convention are, of

course, in the first instance domestic to the Orthodox Church, and include the appeasement of the strife in the Russian Church by her sisters, and the settlement of a new Calendar for the whole Orthodox Church, of the problem of priests' second marriages, and so on. But the programme also includes the questions of Anglican Ordinations and of Orthodox relations with all other Christian Churches, and especially with the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with it. Accordingly, the encyclical invited the other autokephalous Churches to concur, not, as has been said absurdly, in summoning the Anglican or any other Episcopate to take part in the projected Council, but simply in inviting the Archbishop of Canterbury to send an official delegation to it after the type of that which came to Lambeth from Constantinople in 1920. His Grace has been duly informed of its contents by the Œcumenical Patriarch's *apokrisarios* to him, the Archbishop of Thyatira.

Briefly, the fresh crisis in the Russian Church, to which we refer above, is this. On the death of the Patriarch Tikhon, the Metropolitan Peter (Krutitsky) assumed with great reluctance but in accordance with the cogent charge of his will, the dangerous responsibility of the *locum-tenency* of the Russian Patriarchate. That the Bolsheviks would fail to use the chance of disintegrating the Russian Church, which had been held together by its loyalty to the dead Confessor, was, of course, impossible. But, independently of mischief on their part, the delegation of the *locum-tenency* by testamentary disposition in place of its conferment by synodical action could be justified canonically only as a measure made necessary by the desperate times. Of that opening skilful use seems to have been made. Very many of the "Living Churchmen" and other "Innovators" had submitted to the Patriarch Tikhon. Some of their leaders, such as the Archpriest Vvedensky, who, though married, had been consecrated bishop, challenged the canonicity of the *locum-tenency* of the Metropolitan Peter, and others who had been loyal all through to the dead Patriarch joined them. The new party received every encouragement from the Bolshevik Commissar for "Culture," Turkov. The Council of last October, an appreciative sketch of which was contributed last month to the Brussels *Revue Catholique*, by Père Michel d'Herbigny, S.J., who attended it, was held under its auspices. Undoubtedly it has gained great strength, chiefly because, whatever may be its secret tendency, it is differentiated from the Living Church by its profession of orthodox doctrine and because it advances the claim of resisting an uncanonical usurpation—a claim which, in the obscure condition of affairs in Russia, many Russians accept. It has appointed an acting Synod of six bishops which, in rivalry to the Metropolitan Peter, claims the obedience of the Russian clergy and laity as the supreme authority in the Russian Church. That in Russia itself, where the

atmosphere is redolent of suspicion and danger, a decision between the Metropolitan Peter's claim to the fidelity of the faithful and the claim of the new "Orthodox" Synod, is very difficult for the priests and people is obvious. The result has been a renewed chaos in the Church, which, if it must be gratifying to the Bolshevik, may well excuse—granted that the rumour to that effect be substantiated—the Œcumenical Patriarchate's having entered into some form of communication with the new group.

As by now all the world ought to know, the Metropolitan Peter was arrested by the Soviet Commissar Turkov's order shortly before Christmas, as a "counter revolutionary" and a "disturber of the Peace of Russia," and the world is threatened with another tragedy, such as in 1923 was consummated in the person of the Polish Latin Mgr. Budkiewicz, and was only averted in the person of the Patriarch Tikhon by the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the protest of the British Parliament, led by the Labour Party. As we go to Press, news comes that Archbishop Sergius, to whom before his own removal the Metropolitan Peter had delegated the perilous office of *locum tenens*, has been placed under "domiciliary supervision"—an ominous piece of intelligence which should bestir the vigilance of Western Europe. In all that complex, the consideration of canonical questions becomes very difficult and, while there can be no doubt as to whither our sympathies tend naturally, it becomes quite clear that the Russian Church is at present incapable of sending its bishops to take part in the proposed Pan-Orthodox council at Mt. Athos.

In addition to the unlikelihood of the Alexandrian Patriarchate and of the great Russian Church being able to send uncontested representatives in the near future to a Pan-Orthodox Council, it may also be remembered that there exists a series of minor but difficult questions in relation to the Churches of the several Western European "succession" states, which before the War were part of the Russian Empire, but now possess sovereign independence, viz., Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. Though a considerable section of the population, the Orthodox of these countries are in each case in a minority and for the greater part are Russians in race-consciousness. Under the Tsars, the Orthodox Russian Church was the established State Church of all Russia, including the "succession" States, and was a single jurisdiction. The majority of Poles are Roman Catholics, and of the Finns, etc., Protestants. As soon as they came into being, the Governments and majorities of the succession States naturally eyed askance the dependence of their Orthodox nationals upon Moscow, and at least a section of the non-Russians among the Orthodox were eager to emphasize their newly-declared nationality by using their vernacular in the Liturgy, etc. Though it presented different complications, the problem

was much the same in each country. In any case, it was thorny, for, while Russians could not but wish to remain part of the Russian Church, the governments were determined that they should cease to be so and the minorities of the Orthodox Poles, etc., sympathized more or less with that determination.

Whatever chance of an agreed solution might otherwise have existed was put out of the question by the lack of communication with Moscow—a result of settled Bolshevik policy no less than of the Bolshevik régime. Each of the succession States incited and encouraged the "national" minority of their Orthodox to form themselves into an autokephalous Church, and the Russian majority resisted the attempt, meeting the contention that nowadays the Orthodox in every sovereign state are formed into an independent autokephalous Church by the reply that it is not so in Greece and it is only so where the majority of the people is Orthodox. The Patriarch Tikhon, shut off as he was from everything outside the Soviet Union, could not handle the position. Moreover, Orthodox canon law demands that the erection of an autokephalous Church can take place only with the consent of the jurisdiction from which it is severed—a condition which without a Council of the whole Russian Church was obviously impossible. The late Patriarch, indeed, did his best for a *modus vivendi* by approving the formation of an *autonomous* Church in Poland, etc., but that left the Polish and other Churches still in a measure dependent upon, and theoretically part of, the Moscow jurisdiction. The consequence has been that in each of the "succession" states, inter-confessional bitterness, which, in Poland especially, made the Government hostile to Orthodoxy itself, has been increased by a quasi inter-racial struggle. New bishops have been consecrated and have obtained ecclesiastical control, the old bishops being more or less reduced to silence, some by imprisonment, others by dispossession and others by threats, so that in each state there is to-day an Orthodox Church that declares itself completely independent of Moscow and, until its autokephaly be recognized by the whole Orthodox Church, regards the Œcumenical Patriarchate under the 26th Canon of Chalcedon as more or less the centre to which it looks.

As to whether and how these Churches should be represented at a Pan-Orthodox Council, it will be hard to decide, and the Russian Church is precluded from expressing its mind on the matter.

The paralysis of the Russian Church prevents also the recovery of autokephaly by the Georgian Church which was incorporated with the Russian only in the early nineteenth century, has a rich history and a fine vernacular literature, and commands the devotion of the whole Georgian race. Georgia is, of course, a Soviet Republic, as is theoretically the Ukraine, in which there claims to be an autokephalous Church but in which the ecclesiastical complex is too obscure to estimate.

The above and many other considerations make us anticipate that some time will elapse before the proposed Pan-Orthodox Council assembles. But we understand that at all events delegates from all the autokephalous Churches will assemble this year at Mt. Athos to prepare for a Council later.

His Beatitude E. Thourian, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose portrait appeared in our issue of last month, was born at Constantinople in 1860 and educated in that city. Having been ordained as Vardapet in 1879 by the famous Catholicos Matheos Izmirlian, and having ministered for ten years at Bardizak near Ismidt, he became Dean of the monastery of Ormash in 1889, and while in that office was consecrated Bishop, 1898, at Etchmiadzin by the Catholicos Khrimian Hairik. In 1905 he was elected Primate of Smyrna and in 1909 Patriarch of Constantinople, but was compelled by the Young Turks to resign the latter office in 1911. After the armistice, the Armenians naturally decided to appoint someone to their Patriarchate of Jerusalem which had been vacant for several years, and since he had become famous as the greatest living Armenian poet, thinker and preacher, he was designated to that office by general consent. As things are, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin being under the hand of the Soviets, Constantinople being a city of terror for the Armenian, and the Catholicos of Sis being a refugee, the Patriarch Thourian to-day is the outstanding figure in the Armenian ecclesiastical world and for the vast number of Armenian refugees Jerusalem is to some extent a practical ecclesiastical centre.

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The A. and E.C.A. passed a formal vote of regret at the departure of our good friend Father John Leluchin from London in February. Father John, who has been Nastoyatel, or chief priest, of the Russian Parish of London since 1922, was formerly Dean of the Cathedral of Archangel and has left England to take charge of the Russian Church in Florence.

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The Greeks in London observe the new Calendar of Constantinople, which is practically, though not theoretically, identical with our own, but the Russians have made no change. Thus the Greeks kept Christmas on our December 25th, under the New Style, but the Russians on January 7th under the Old Style. Both, however, began their Lent on March 15th—50 days, please, and not 40—and no butter or animal produce of any kind on Sundays as well as weekdays. For no change has been made in the Paschalia by Constantinople, that matter being reserved for an Œcumenical Council. The Roumanians, however, have adopted the Western Easter, as have the Armenians.

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Fr. Leluchin and Mr. Sablin, the President of the Russian Colony

in London, presented Canon Douglas, on the Russian Christmas, with a *grammata* from the Karlovicz Synod, *i.e.*, a formal vote of thanks for his services to the Russian Church. The ceremony took place after the Liturgy in the presence of a large congregation. Canon Douglas used the opportunity to emphasize the fact that the presence of the Russian Metropolitans at the Abbey Nicæan service involved no breach of Orthodox practice, but was abundantly precedented. The proceedings were reported fully in the *Church Times* of January 15th.

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The Patriarch of Jerusalem has conferred a Third Class of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre on the Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, Secretary of the Jerusalem and the East Mission. The Cross of the Order contains a Fragment of the True Cross. Canon Douglas holds the Grand Companionship of the Order, and the Revs. M. Child and G. N. Whittingham possess the Third Class..

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We are delighted to know that Canon Garland, of Brisbane, who has done very much to serve the Orthodox in Australia and to promote their comity and amity with Anglicans in that continent, has received the same distinction.

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The Archbishop of Dublin has accepted the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to join his Eastern Churches Committee, of which Canon Douglas has been appointed Librarian.

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Dr. Russell Wakefield, formerly Bishop of Birmingham and President of the Russian Church Appeal Fund, took the chair at a delightful little lunch in Whitehall Place on Wednesday, March 3rd, the occasion of the function being the presentation to the Revs. H. Buxton and G. N. Whittingham by Father Timotheiev and Mr. Ivanov, President of the Russian Parish of London, of crosses "like a Russian archpriest's" on behalf of the Metropolitan Evlogie. Canon Douglas took the opportunity to point out that the Anglican authorities were anxious that it should be known that, since no man could hold office in two churches not in communion, these crosses of which six have been conferred by Greeks, Russians or Serbs, were simply decorations. The six are the Revs. R. F. Borough, H. J. Fynes-Clinton, W. R. Corbould, himself, and the two guests of March 3rd. The letters accompanying the gift are interesting. They run :—

12, Rue Daru, Paris.
2/15 January, 1926.
No. 25.

TO THE REVEREND FATHER BUXTON, BELOVED IN CHRIST,

In the hard time through which the Russian Church is passing, the fate of the youthful generation gives cause for especial fears

The corruption of youth and the poisoning of faith in their souls are part of the plan of the work of destruction of the present rulers of Russia.

In fleeing from this persecution for the sake of their faith the youth of Russia, taking refuge abroad, are subjected to another danger: they grow up amid foreign surroundings, lose their intimate connection with their own Orthodox Church, and are in need of special care in their religious and moral education.

I am happy to say that in this matter of the religious education of Orthodox Russian youths abroad, our brethren, members of the English Church, give us active help. The work of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association is memorable in this respect—work in which you have taken such an active part, and particularly on the Committee of the Lord Mayor's Fund in the capacity of Secretary.

You showed your brotherly love to the representatives of the Orthodox Church during our meeting in the summer of 1925 on the occasion of the celebration of the 1600th anniversary of the Council of Nicæa. We shall never forget your love and care for us during those memorable days, and I am glad to give you a proof of my deep gratitude.

In invoking the blessing of God upon you, I beg you to accept the accompanying pectoral cross, like those worn by Russian Orthodox Priests.

Yours with deep respect,
(Signed) EVLOGIOS METROPOLITAN.

12, Rue Daru, Paris.
2/15 January, 1926.
No. 27.

TO THE REVEREND FATHER NAPIER WHITTINGHAM, BELOVED IN CHRIST,

The life of the Russian Orthodox Church is passing at present through exceptionally difficult conditions. The clergy and the laity faithful to Orthodoxy in Soviet Russia are suffering cruel persecution. Many of the servants of the Church have been put to death; many more languish in prison in distant exile. The Orthodox people give them what help they can, but this help is insufficient. Meanwhile the persecution is directed against the very foundations of the Church. The persecutors have put an end to all Orthodox ecclesiastical education. The last home of spiritual learning—the Petrograd Theological Institute—was closed by them in 1923. The persecution of the Church in Russia has laid the vigilant care for the needs of the Orthodox people in Russia on the Russian Orthodox Communities abroad, and chiefly in me, appointed by

the Most Holy Patriarch Tikhon to be Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe.

In serving the persecuted Orthodox Church in Russia to the best of my ability, I took measures for the organisation of Orthodox theological education abroad and opened a theological school in Paris which I hope, with the help of God, to develop into a higher educational establishment—a Theological Institute. In you and in those represented by you, who took part in the "Appeal for the Russian Clergy," the Russian Church and I, her servant and representative abroad, have found friends full of Christian brotherly love. Your Committee has given great help to Russian Orthodox Bishops, priests and laymen languishing in prison and in exile. Thanks to your support it was possible to prolong the existence of the Petrograd Theological Institute for a certain time. At the present time your gifts form the chief source of support of the Theological School in Paris.

All these touching proofs of your brotherly love towards the suffering Russian Church fill our hearts with a feeling of deep gratitude.

Invoking the blessing of God upon you, I beg you, in token of the help which the Appeal provided and still continues to provide, to accept the accompanying pectoral cross like those which are worn by Russian Orthodox Priests.

With deep respect,

Yours

(Signed) EVLOGIOS METROPOLITAN.

The Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, of 8, Finsbury Square, E.C.4, has succeeded Major Tudor Pole as Secretary of the Russian Clergy Appeal Fund, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury has accepted the office of Patron, and Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira, has become a Vice-President. The Fund has three activities: (1) To relieve the pressing needs of the suffering Russian Clergy within as well as outside Russia; (2) to support the Russian Theological Academy in Paris, the work of which is to train men for the priesthood and which is keeping the light alive; (3) to assist the Orthodox Christian Students' Association. An appeal for £2,000 is in the Press. Copies will be sent gladly by the Secretary to any applicant.

(*Continued on page* 43.)

THIRD ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

OUR readers will care to read the following addresses which, after the pattern of those presented by the two previous Pilgrimages, have been prepared by Canon Douglas for the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage.

To His Beatitude the Lord Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria and Œcumenical Judge, etc., etc.

We, John Howard, Bishop of Plymouth, together with the 125 faithful priests and laity of the Anglican Churches now under our leadership in the Third Official Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, rejoice to use the occasion of our ship's stay at Alexandria, in order to make known, not only in Your Person to the Orthodox Clergy and Flock of Egypt and to the whole Orthodox Church of the East, but also to the world, the sincere sisterly love, admiration and gratitude which in recompense of its age-long labours in the Christian Religion and of its witness to the Faith of the Christian Fathers are cherished by us Anglicans throughout the world towards the Holy Throne and Church of St. Mark.

Those of us who were present when a year ago that great Patriarch, the beloved and lamented Lord Photios, received the Second Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage can never forget the kindly words with which he spoke to them. In the few months which then remained before his passing from this life, he performed an incomparable service to the Christian cause. In spite of his great age, accepting the formal invitation of the Synod of Canterbury, he journeyed last June to London in order that, with the delegates despatched by the other Orthodox particular Churches, he might be present at Westminster Abbey at the Liturgy with which in celebration of the Sixteenth Centenary of the Great Council of Nicæa, the Church of England thanked God. The echo of the Œcumenical Creed, as he recited it alone in its ancient language and in its ancient form, will resound long within the walls of our symbolic National Shrine. In the month of his stay in Great Britain he won the hearts of our people, our King welcomed him, and our great Archbishop of Canterbury learnt to count him his chosen friend. By his wisdom no less than by his eloquence he taught the Laodicæans among us both to long for Reunion with the Faithful Orthodox East and to believe that union to be possible on the basis of full dogmatic agreement and without compromise of principle.

His journeyings were too heavy for his aged strength and he died on his way home. But in those short months he had stood forth as a compelling Apostle and Prophet of Reunion. Though dead, he speaketh and his works will follow.

We ask your prayers and the prayers of the faithful clergy and laity of Egypt that God will bless us on our pilgrimage, that he will bring us healed in soul and in health of body back to our native land and that he will use us to His Greater Glory.

To His Beatitude the Lord Damianos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, President of the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, etc., etc.

We, John Howard, Bishop of Plymouth, together with 125 faithful clergy and laity, having by the mercy of God come to the Holy City of Sion in fulfilment of the vow of our pilgrimage, desire to express to your Beatitude our gratitude alike for the wise love and care whereby that world-famous Confraternity, of which you are the symbolic head, has preserved and beautified the Holy Shrines for all Christendom, and for the unfailing and unchanging readiness of love with which it has welcomed through the ages, and still welcomes, all pilgrims who make their way to Bethlehem and Calvary in order that in payment of their vows, in search for healing and health of body, soul and spirit, and in the rendering of thanksgiving for the Gift of God's Incarnate Son to the World, they may kiss the sacred Stone of Golgotha and the Star of the Nativity.

That selfsame virtue of true and unfeigned Christian Charity was manifested to the whole British race last June, when, at the summons of our revered and beloved Primate, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, your Beatitude did not hesitate to travel over thousands of long and weary miles in order that with your Brother, the Patriarch of Alexandria, you might share in our Nation's Eucharist for God's gift of the Œcumenical Creed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit through the Three Hundred and Eighteen Fathers of the First and Great Council of Nicæa.

That the Reunion of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox is not yet and that the consummation of our longing to receive the True Body and Blood of Christ from the consecrating hands of the successor of St. James in the very Temple of the Holy Sepulchre must wait until the acclamation of full and complete dogmatic union between the Orthodox Church and the Anglicans, we are well aware. But we desire here in the Holy City to testify God's goodness in that by His Providence your Beatitude performed that brotherly act and thereby not only won the hearts of hundreds of thousands of our Church and nation to yourself but stirred us to long and labour the more for the day of the fulfilment of the Great Shepherd's Vow that He would gather all His sheep into His One Fold.

We ask your Beatitude to bless us and to plead that, as we offer the All-prevailing and Unbloody Sacrifice in that Chapel of Abraham

which is above the Holy Tomb, our vows may be crowned, our prayers fulfilled and our thanksgivings received. And we shall never cease to pray that the Peace of the Saviour may abide with your Beatitude, your Confraternity and your Flock of the Church of Sion, the Mother of all Churches.

To His Beatitude, the Lord Thourian, Patriarch of the Armenians and Holder of the Throne of St. James.

We, John Howard, Bishop of Plymouth, and the 125 faithful clergy and laity of the Anglican Churches, having journeyed to this Holy City in fulfilment of our vow to render thanksgiving for the salvation vouchsafed by God to mankind through His Incarnate Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and who rejoice to stand in veneration near to the mystic Throne of St. James and to render our devotions to the splendid wondrous sacred relics, treasured and preserved for all Christians within the precincts of this Holy House, rejoice also to assure your Beatitude of the admiring love, enshrined in our hearts, with which we are inspired by the glorious fidelity of the Armenian nation to the Cross. If the scholar teaches us that the Armenian nation was a nursing-mother of the Christian Church, and if in its ancient Liturgies, rich writings and Church art we find abundant confirmation of that judgment, we of this present century are aware altogether that the martyrdom of no Christian people in any age or any land may be compared with that of the Armenian.

The number of those victims of your race who in these later years, rather than deny the Lord of their Salvation and accept the False Prophet of Islam, perished by the White Death or the Red, exceeds the number of those Blessed Saints who witnessed to their Saviour in their blood during the sharpest of the Seven Persecutions.

Sanguis martyrorum, semen ecclesiæ! May their noble fidelity to the Cross stir us and all Christians of our day to spend and to be spent for the establishment of the Reign of our Saviour here in earth. In these the Holy Places of Sion, where Faith cannot but receive Power, our persistent prayer will be that the Great Restorer will recompense your Beatitude's long-suffering and noble people with quietude, recreation and His peace which passes understanding, so that in the happier years to be the Treasures of the Armenian race may be carried richly into the Gates of the One Universal Church, God's heavenly Sion. And with your Beatitude, we ask all Armenians here on earth or there behind the Veil to pray and to intercede that both we pilgrims and all our brethren of the Anglican Name may be blessed by the Giver of all Grace to find Salvation for our souls and to be used as His instruments for the setting up of His Kingdom among men and for the hastening of the Day of His Coming.

STEPHEN GRAHAM, AUTHOR OF "THE RUSSIAN PILGRIMS AND JERUSALEM."

An impression by Powys Evans. (*See page* 43).

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD ARCHBISHOP ANASTASY, AT THE RUSSIAN CONVENT ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

We, John Howard, who, together with 125 faithful clergy and laity of the Anglican Churches, have been blessed by God to render our Adoration and Thanksgiving for the Gospel of Salvation in the Holy Shrines of Bethlehem and Calvary, desire to express to your Lordship the sentiments of brotherly love and of admiring sympathy with which we, in common with the totality of the clergy and flock of the world-wide Anglican Church, are inspired towards the Faithful, Suffering Church of Holy Russia.

Last June your Lordship's beloved Brothers, the Metropolitans Antonius and Evlogius, visited these islands and both at Westminster Abbey, the national shrine of England, venerated the Sacred Relics of our English Patron Saint, the Confessor King, Edward, and at St. David's Cathedral, the national shrine of Wales, venerated the Sacred Relics of our Welsh Patron Saint, the Confessor and Archbishop David. So they were joined to us in mutual love. Our hearts are eager for that happy day when, in our turn, the Dark Hour of Satan's Power having passed, we shall be blessed to make pilgrimage to the renowned Temples of Holy Russia and, paying honour to her Sacred Relics, shall be knit to the soul of her Holy Orthodox Church. Meanwhile, Right Reverend Father, for us this world-famed Holy Russian Convent of the Mount of Olives may well be Russian ground. Hither year by year came in countless thousands those Russian Pilgrims whose piety and sincere Faith are still the wonder of all Christendom. And here, though their bodily presence is not with us, we know that, as we pray for the Restoration of blood-gilt Holy Russia, we are one in intercession as with the faithful clergy and flock of the glorious Russian Orthodox Church, now suffering renewed persecution at the hands of the Enemies of the Cross so also with your Great Patriarch Confessor and those of his loyal flock who have entered into triumphant rest.

In resolving, if God so will, to be, by His Grace, humble instruments of His Providence in hastening the Hour of that Restoration, we ask your prayers and blessing.

(*Continued from page 39.*)

The drawing of Mr. Stephen Graham which we publish in this number is the gift of Mr. Powys Evans. Our readers will be glad to have it; for Mr. Graham's writings have been a source of delight and instruction to all who know and love the true Russia. One of our editors is reminded of a remark made to him by a Russian some years ago in Moscow: "Mr. Stephen Graham understands us better than we do ourselves." Certainly he has contributed not a little to the bonds of respect and affection which unite so many of the two peoples, and which, for those who know, even Bolshevism has not been able to impair.

(*Continued on page 44*)

THE ASSYRIAN APPEAL.

WE imagine that our readers will find very special interest in our frontispiece this month—a very recent portrait of the young Assyrian Patriarch, Issai Mar Shimun, who, as a ward of our Archbishop, is now studying at Canterbury. For obvious reasons it is undesirable that the privacy of his collegiate life should be exploited, and we abstain from giving his biography. But we may say properly that he is now eighteen years old and that his full style is Catholicos of Seleucia-Ktesiphon and Patriarch of the East.

There will be no need to describe here the more recent sufferings of the Assyrians at the hands of the Turks. Those who wish to read an impartial account should get the report of the Esthonian General Laidoner, who was sent by the League of Nations to investigate the tragic happenings of last autumn in the Goyan, or that of Mr. Donohoe, the *Daily Chronicle's* commissioner, published, price 2d., by that journal under the title of "The Unspeakable Turk."

As all the world ought to know, the Archbishop of Canterbury requested Sir Henry Lunn to open an Emergency Relief Fund for the victims of that ebullition of Turkish brutality last November. The Committee which Sir Henry Lunn—all honour to his Christian chivalry and philanthropy—initiated in accordance with his Grace's S.O.S. and of which one of our editors is the hon. secretary, has met with a fine response in England, no less than £22,000 having been subscribed by the British public, and, as Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, has gratefully acknowledged, the Assyrian refugees from Turkey having been thus tided over the hard winter. Nearly all our cathedrals gave collections, as did also a great many of our parish churches and a goodly number of Free Church and Roman Catholic congregations.

The winter is over, indeed, and its need has passed. But there remains the pressing necessity of settling the 30,000 Assyrians now in Iraq and the 70,000 scattered through Persia and Russia, in a new country where they may preserve the life of their nation and Church until their immemorial homelands, north-east of Mosul, which are now desolate under the Turkish tyranny, can be restored to them. The King of Iraq has assigned territory for that purpose and during the summer of 1926 it is proposed to gather together the remnants of this ancient and famous race and to bring them to the land which he offers them. In order to provide them with seed for sowing and agricultural implements, £70,000 is required. It is hoped that their British friends will not be weary of well-doing and that many church collections and personal donations for that end will reach Canon Douglas, 3, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, in

May and June. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Lunn—more power to him—has gone with Lady Surma, the Patriarch's aunt, to America to plead with the people there.

A report of the farewell given Lady Surma appeared in the *Church Times* of February 26th. It may interest our readers to have *verbatim* her own speech and the words with which Canon Douglas introduced her, by the goodness of the British Broadcasting Company, that were broadcast from 2LO throughout England on February 17th.

The Introducer (Canon Douglas).

Lady Surma d' Bait Mar Shimun is here according to programme to speak to you. In introducing her, I should explain who the Assyrians are and her right to speak for them.

The history of the Assyrians goes back more than 3,500 years. Doings of their mighty kings are recorded again and again in the Old Testament from Genesis onwards. You will know how Sennacherib besieged Hezekiah in Jerusalem. Their country was in the north of Mesopotamia, a name which signifies "between the rivers," *i.e.*, the Tigris and Euphrates. Their capital was that Nineveh which repented in ashes at the bidding of the Prophet Jonah. Its ruins are on the bank of the river Tigris opposite to Mosul (which is pronounced Mōs-sūl), a town from which comes the name of the fine fabric "muslin" and about which, as a bone of contention between Great Britain and Turkey, we have heard continually since the War.

In 606 B.C. the Assyrian Empire was destroyed by the Persians and all Mesopotamia became a dominion of the kings of Persia.

The Persians were cousins of the Indians and by religion were Magi, *i.e.*, Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. The Assyrians belonged to the Semitic family, of which the Syrians, the Arabs and the Jews were also members. Go and compare the features of an old Assyrian in the wonderful Assyrian Gallery of the British Museum with those of a Jew to-day and you will see the resemblance. Also Assyrian, Syrian, Arabic and Hebrew were different forms of one language.

Thus Persians and Assyrians being like oil and water, the conquered Assyrians came to be more and more of one block with the Syrians until in the days of Christ they had come to think of themselves as Syrians and spoke the Syrian language for which in the Babylonian captivity the Jews had also exchanged Hebrew and which was the tongue spoken by Christ. Lady Surma will presently repeat the Lord's Prayer in the language which she and her people still speak. It will interest you to know that her people are the only people in the world to-day who speak that language, and that if you used the words which St. Luke records that Christ used to the dead girl, Talitha Cumi, (Damsel arise), any modern Assyrian maiden would understand you.

The Apostles carried the Gospel quickly through the Syrian lands from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia and the Syrian Church was one of the nursing mothers of Christianity. It would take too long to describe how the Roman Emperors tried to turn the Syrians into Romans by denationalising their Church, how they became Nonconformists and in the seventh century, to escape the Emperors, welcomed the armies of the Moslems. Mahommed, the prophet of Islam, had ordered that all Christians who surrendered should be granted their lives. Islam did not allow them to have rights. So the Assyrians became the *rayat* or cattle of their Moslem masters. That was 1,200 years ago. Many became Moslems but the rest remained stubbornly Christian. In the reign of our Henry VII., the Turkish Sultans conquered the Arabs and made themselves *holifs*, *i.e.*, successors of Mahommed, and rulers of Mesopotamia. How civilized these were even under the Arabs is proved by their missions having converted parts of India and China about the time of William the Conqueror. But the Turks oppressed the Assyrians, whose existence became like a fairy story to Christian Europe. When they were rediscovered all that was left of them was a quarter of a million, living in the hills and plains where Turkey meets Persia and Mesopotamia.

The Archbishop of Canterbury sent them teachers in 1885 to educate and otherwise care for them. In gratitude for that they listened to the appeal of Great Britain when the Great War came. Besides, they loved the Union Jack: when it was in danger they had to fight. But in drawing the sword, they knew that they threw away the scabbard. The Turks had long made up their minds to get rid of their Christian cattle. By expulsion or massacre they were extirpating the Armenians and Greeks. So the whole Assyrian race, except a part known as Chaldeans in the plains, rose up and marched away, men, women and children, through the huge mountains until they came to where the British were. Lady Surma was the heroine of that terrible trek. Little children, old women and children fell and died by the road. A third of the nation perished in it. The British put the non-combatants who came to them alive into a camp at Baqubah. The men went and fought for us. How grandly they fought, our Generals bear admiring witness. When the War was over, the Assyrians wanted to return to their homeland, their beloved mountains and valleys, which had been theirs for thousands of years. But the Turks were there, and to do so was not safe for them. When Great Britain granted peace to Turkey at Lausanne, she demanded that Mosul and the Assyrian country should be included in Mesopotamia—Iraq, as it is now called. The Turks would not agree. So the decision was referred to the League of Nations, the judgment of which was not given till last December. In October, when it became plain that Mosul would

be given to the British mandate, the Turks struck at the unhappy Chaldeans and Assyrians who were back in their own country. As to the horrible things they did to the women and children, there is no doubt. The Esthonian General, Laidoner, sent by the League of Nations, had made report. Hundreds of women and girls were taken away into Turkey to join the 30,000 Christian women and children who were there as slaves already. About 10,000 managed to escape. These are in terrible distress and are being kept from starvation by the Assyrian Relief Fund, started by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Canon Douglas, at 3, Memorial Hall, E.C., is its secretary. That is who the Assyrians are.

And now, who is Lady Surma? She is the aunt of the present hereditary chieftain of the Assyrians, who is also their Archbishop and is a lad of seventeen. During the War she was the soul of the nation, giving them inspiration, loving sympathy and courage, sharing every danger and privation which they had to endure. She will go down to history with Nurse Cavell and other noble women as one of the War's heroines. The bodily hardships she bore gladly were nothing to her agonies of mind at the sufferings of her people and to her anxiety for them to-day. Though she is barely forty, her hair is snow-white. Now she will speak for herself.

Lady Surma.

I have listened to what the gentleman who has introduced me has said. It is all true. We are the last survivors of the ancient and once all-powerful Assyrian civilization. We became Christians at the preaching of the Apostle Thaddæus,—Addai, as we call him.

Our nation and Church of the East was once like the sands of the sea. We sent missionaries to China and far-off India, where our daughter-Church still flourishes at Malabar. We had much literature, art and science. Now we are scattered all over the world, a scanty people—less, perhaps, than 100,000.

Thirty thousand of us are waiting in Iraq and Persia to return to the mountains and plains of our fathers. We love our homelands with a love which even you British cannot understand—its villages and old churches, its trees and rocks and rivers. Yes! it is true we are in exile. We have been massacred and ill-treated. Our women and girls have been taken into horrible and hated slavery. Our nation is nearly dead. But we do not look back. Our ancestors suffered for 1,000 years, because they were stubborn for the true faith of the Gospel. We knew the risk we ran when we fought for England. We would not take back that which we gave. If the Assyrian name and race must perish because it has been faithful to the Cross and to the Union Jack, we are content. But I speak to plead for our scanty remnant. Surely they have a claim on Great Britain, if not on all Christian civilization. If you can give them

back their homeland, give it them back. But at least take care of them.

Our hearts are hot with thanks to the generous people of London for the money they have given to feed and house those of us who have escaped from the Turk and for keeping them from dying in the cold and rain of the winter. But give us our land, that we may increase and multiply again under the Union Jack and may be saved. We say the Lord's Prayer for you often in our gratitude. Will you pray it sometimes for my sisters and brothers in their danger and misery? I will say it now in Syriac. The words and my accent are those which a woman who learnt it from Christ's own lips would have used.

Lady Surma then recited the Lord's Prayer in Aramaic.

(*Continued from page* 43.)

Americans have not forgotten that the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey, signed some time ago and still awaiting ratification by the United States Senate, is a document which gives tacit consent to a nation whose policy toward racial minorities continues to be definitely anti-Christian and thoroughly barbarous. A protest, signed by 113 bishops of the Episcopal Church, headed by the Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., Bishop of New York, presented to the Senate, says:

"As Americans we should be as solicitous for the performance of our moral duty as for the protection of our material rights. We are asked to resume friendly relations with an avowedly unrepentant and anti-Christian government which destroyed a million inoffensive Christian men, women, and children, expelled from their ancestral homes over a million and a half, and is now holding in slavery in Turkish harems tens of thousands of Christian women and children We cannot forget that over a million Armenian refugees and exiles are now a people without a country—while their own homeland lies deserted under Turkish domination, that thousands of Armenians fell on the field of battle in defense of our common cause, and that President Wilson and President Harding made solemn pledges to Armenia."

Commenting upon this, *The Living Church* of April 3rd, 1926, says: "The treaty between the United States and Turkey has been slumbering in the Senate because of the opposition of those unpleasant American Christians who put religion and morality ahead of politics and business. The Turks have been engaged in new atrocities. And why shouldn't they? Did the Christian world show any real resentment against their atrocities during ten years or more among the Armenians? What has the Turk to fear to-day?"

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